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demand to the bride's father's youngest brother (it is supposed the father is dead), he does not answer without consulting the bride's mother and usually he acts according to her wish." Shirokogoroff, pp. 72, 73. /Cited in English./

584 5. Discussion of the Bride Price and Deciding on the Wedding Gifts

Contrary to Chinese practice which requires two go-betweens, a T'ou-jen ordinarily engages only one, a friend of the family.

One is in no hurry to get a go-between. When the girl is only four or five years old, one waits two or three years more, indeed even longer, before giving this invitation. The promise of marriage having been made to the mother-in-law, there is no longer anything to fear; only at each New Year and at the festival of the fifteenth [431] day of the eighth moon, they call on each other, exchange small gifts, and call each other Guda, "relatives by alliance," all this in order to refresh the memory.

In exceptional cases, where the girl has reached marriageable age at the time of the marriage proposal, they do not delay in making use of the services of a go-between.

584 After choosing an auspicious day for this important matter, the go-between leaves with the traditional gifts: a small jug of gin [577 431] corked with a red (a color /26/ which brings good luck) lozenge and a strand of sheep's wool tied around the neck. Upon his arrival he puts his gift on the small table on the k'ang and pompously greets the fiancée's family with bows. They understand one another without saying a word; they drink tea, they smoke a pipe, and the go-between broaches his subject after pouring the gin for everyone present. "Now," he says, "since you have decided between yourselves on the marriage of your children, kindly set the day to decide on the gifts and discuss the traditional formalities. (1)

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1. Shirokogoroff, p. 73: "The negotiations are always followed by

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[292] the eardrops, as well as the large pin which fastens the headdress to the coil of hair.

The dinner is not delayed; a sheep is served whole, as well as a dish of noodles. Things are not dragged out. Let us note that the guests who have spent the night are at the dinner and are present at the farewell ceremonies.

/58/ The two companions rise, take out from their bags two new jugs of gin, and offer a round to everyone present, bidding them to help everything go off in good order, for the ceremonial hour designated for taking away the bride has struck. They open the second flask immediately, pour for everybody in the same way, "and then," they say, "is to invite you all to the wedding dinner, which will take place today at our place."

Then they proceed to the dressing of the bride. She is seated in
[77] a side room on a little Chinese table on which is unfolded a piece of red felt. The bridegroom is invited by the family to enter the room. The bride keeps her eyes lowered and does not even greet him. It is the bridegroom's task to undo the unmarried girl's braid of his bride. There are always three red strings in the coil of hair; the bridegroom takes them out and puts one in his pocket. The two others will then be attached to the iang hstia (1) and kept in the family so that the

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1. The iang hstia is the family's good-luck talisman. It is an iron rod two to three feet long fixed in a bulky and wide wooden base. Attached to it are little strands of wool, hair from the tails of cows and pigs and from horse manes', red strings, ends of k'ata; on the base, carved in the shape of a saucer, are seen grains of wheat, millet, colza.... The iang hstia is held in honor by the family; it has its place beside the spirit which is honored there, and is itself honored. The T'ou-jen believe that

2: Schram--64 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

/58 cont'd/

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their good fortune is attached to the persons of their children, to the animals they raise, to the grain they cultivate. When a daughter is given in marriage, it is good fortune which goes away; when animals are sold, it is wealth which abandons them.... Now to keep good fortune and wealth from leaving the family, they take from the braid of the daughter given in marriage the two red strings, which they attach to the lang hsia, they take hairs from the animals, they keep some grains of the cereals they sell. Favors received from spirits cannot be sold; so they believe they are in order with the spirits by keeping a souvenir of the favors received. They will therefore kneel before the lang hsia as before the spirits.

585 family's good fortune may not go away with the daughter who is leaving the home. The son-in-law takes the new comb he has brought, passes it three times through his own hair, then three times through that of his bride. The third time he leaves it in her hair and goes out of the room.

The door of the room is closed, and the women inside comb and dress the bride. The two recent singers /59/ had brought a red [822] garment for her, because the bride must be dressed all in red today. Nevertheless, she sometimes covers her head with a green veil. The two companions stay in front of the bride's room and intone the song of the toilette while the women inside hurry to finish their task. They are heard singing, "We who are named Li have come to the home of the honorable Wang family with a comb having an even number of teeth; we have not learned to comb hair, we beg you, comb the girl's hair with art in our place.... We have brought earrings, we beg you to put them on her," and so on for all the pieces of attire.

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friends (German translation: vigorous women friends), and more particularly in former days when the bride was tied, when she was held back by the sleeves of her dress, or when they were attached to the yurt. At half a verst of the way /translator's note: possibly "halfway"/, the husband-to-be sends wine and meat to refresh the bride and those who accompany her. Upon her arrival she remains surrounded by her companions until her yurt is ready. As soon as she enters it, she is seated on a bed. The numerous plaits of hair which she wore as a girl are undone, her coral ornaments are removed, and after they put some ornaments on the two plaits left, she is dressed in the clothes that a married woman wears.

HM [301]

M 585 Because of her regrets and sorrow the bride does not address herself to anyone during the whole trip; according to custom, she cannot speak to anyone. The bridegroom's family sends two groups to meet the procession, and a third waits near the house. The two groups greet the guests on the road and offer them tea and gin. They have lighted a large fire right in the road where the guests can warm themselves in the winter and light their pipe. They get off their horses to go near the fire, then the procession continues.

M [371 777 484] Since all marriages are always celebrated on special auspicious days, it is not rare to see nuptial processions meet. The custom then is that the processions stop. The young T'ou-jen bride, who has carefully put away her new comb in a piece of red cloth, takes it out and exchanges it with the unknown bride. Without speaking to each other and without being able to see each other, sobbing, they exchange their good-luck tokens. Touching little scene.

3: Schröder AE9 Monguor AE9

● 778

/For information on sacred objects and places: the spirit-spear, shaman's sword, the arrow of good fortune, the mani-tree and the central fort, the obo, and the chorten chamber, see category 116, pp. 23-50, and pp. 84-144./

3: Schröder--87 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[Caption for Plate 2 between pp. 48 and 49.]

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[137]
[291] a: Mani-tree on a house roof in the village T'a-erh-wan west of Tangkar in the vicinity of the Koko Nor. Summer, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Mani-tree.")

b: An old Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai on the way to the obo of the Sha-pa-kou, 1949. In his right hand a poplar branch with flocks of wool, in his left and imitation spear with a flock of wool and painted spiral. In front of him on the ground: a [782] bundle of straw for the incense fire, a saddle bag with white stones that will be thrown on the obo, a jug of barley wine for the libation, and behind it a little bag with cypress needles (incense). (To accompany the chapter: "The Obo.")

[342]
[351] c: A Tujen yard of the settlement Ha-szu (Hsia-szu) on the way from Na-ling-kou to Yang-ch'üan. In the center of the yard, the central fort with the mani-tree. Summer, 1948.
[417] (To accompany the chapter: "The Mani-tree.")

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2. The Arrow of Good Fortune*

*See "Notes," pp. 52-55 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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*778 In every good Tujen house there is an arrow. The tip is stuck in an urn of grain, in a crevice in the wall, or in a slit in a beam. Hadas, colorful ribbons, sheep wool, hair, etc. are [792] attached to the arrow. The arrow is consecrated by a lama or a Bon priest, and on this occasion it is venerated in the house. Later, however, it is not venerated any more. The arrow is [777] not the seat of a spirit, but rather guarantees good fortune and wealth in the family.

[50 cont.]

Details

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*778 The arrow: Originally the people used a genuine arrow (2).

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2. [Foreign text p. 52.] According to the reports of the old people, the Tujen arrows are exactly like those of the Fandse and Mongols in Tsinghai. These arrows can be seen in great numbers in every lamasery. Their average length is about one meter. Their feathering is usually radial and made of eagle feathers (ying-mao). The forms of the arrow tips are exceedingly manifold. The material is always iron. -- The children's bows and arrows are simple, crude toys, as in Europe. Nowadays the bow and arrow have disappeared from the life of the Tujen.

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They are rare nowadays, since the Tujen no longer have the bow and arrow as weapons. The arrows were very manifold, however. Today, only a simple arrow shaft without tip and feathering is used for the most part. There are no prescriptions for its manufacture.

The urn: An ordinary clay urn or wide vase is used, such as can be obtained anywhere. Sometimes the urn is fitted up like the treasure-urn of the earth-god. In that case, however, not several scrolls, but only one is put in it. Also, fluid butter is not poured over the grain. The following kinds of grain are contained in it: wheat, black and white barley, light and dark Tibetan barley, but never beans, peas, etc. The urn may be of any color. It is not required for the arrow of good fortune, however. Sometimes the latter is simply stuck in a measure of grain or in a wooden cylinder, or no container at all is used and the arrow is stuck anywhere in the beams or the wall,

[50 cont.]
777 always inside the house. In such a case the arrow is not made or
*1778 consecrated by a lama or Bon priest (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 52.] For the preparation of the urn, cf. the section; "The Earth-god Urn."

Attachments: Always and in all cases hadas and sheep wool are attached to the arrow. If the arrow is consecrated, a small copper mirror is usually also attached to it. -- When
[237 432] an animal is sold or given away, some of its hair is tied to the arrow, as in the case of horses, donkeys, and mules. The hair is taken from the mane or tail. Similarly, when a sheep is sold some wool is also tied on. Hog bristles, however, may never be tied to the arrow of good fortune. -- After a child's first haircut,
[302 852] on the first birthday, the downy hairs that have been cut off are rolled into a little ball, and a thread is drawn out of it, with which the ball is tied to the arrow; similarly the bow and arrow that the child seized as an oracle on this occasion is tied to it. --
[585] When a daughter is married, a number of small strips of cloth are cut from the seam of her bridal [51] dress for the arrow. Also some hair of the bride, which was combed out during the hair-dressing and adornment on the eve of her being taken away, is carefully collected and attached to the arrow of good fortune (4).

4. [Foreign text pp. 52-53.] The fact that sheep wool is always attached to the arrow, as to the obo, seems to be connected with the sheep of good fortune; cf. below. F. Lessing (Yung Ho Kung, p. 148) would like to connect the little balls of wool (cotton) with the thread figures (mdos), which hold fast the demons. -- Occasionally, silk threads in the five sacred colors are also added. Hair

[51 cont.]

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[Foreign text pp. 52-53 cont.]
from a cow, when it is sold, is also tied to the arrow, but in no case hog bristles, as for example, L. Schram (Mariage, p. 58) maintains. L. Schram in this place generally confuses the arrow of good fortune with the spirit-spear. He designates with iang hstia a [53] "tige en fer"[iron shaft], which stands in a "gros et large socle" [large and wide base] and has a length of "deux à trois pieds" [two to three feet]. It is accorded a veneration "comme devant les esprits" [as before the spirits]. This never applies to a yãnsdzia, however, but in part only to a small spirit-spear. In the case of the latter, the tip and iron foot are visible so that it gives the impression of being entirely of iron. It is likewise stuck in a large stand and may have a length of about a meter. According to my informant, the arrow of good fortune is not venerated like a spirit among the Tujen, whereas the spear is. The other statements, however, fit the arrow of good fortune.

The urn also receives additions. For instance, some kernels of grain are always thrown into it when some is sold. Furthermore, during the night when the bride is fetched, the [585] bridegroom's family brings a hada and bran for the bride's riding animal. Part of the bran is poured into the urn and the hada is tied to the arrow of good fortune.

Safekeeping: If the arrow of good fortune was consecrated and stuck in an urn or a bushel, the latter must always stand together with the arrow in the main house on the chest in front

[51 cont.]

777 of the Buddha image or, in case there is a chapel, kept in the
*778 chapel. If it is stuck somewhere without an urn, this must also always be in the main house.

777 Construction and consecration: The arrow without the urn
*778 is prepared and provided with the attachment by the master of the household himself without any kind of ceremony. It is then
782 fumigated once and stuck in its place with an incense offering.

In the case of an arrow with an urn, the lama is invited with the usual formalities. He makes his torma, sets up the little water-bowls, etc., just as on other occasions. Then he prays for a day or more and gives the prayer of consecration over the arrow. During this prayer the arrow is fumigated with cypress incense. Then the pot is brought, washed, and fumigated, while the lama prepares the scroll. The latter is also fumigated. After that, the grain is poured into the urn and the arrow stuck in it. The master of the household places the pot with the arrow in front of the lama on the kang, and the latter then attaches the individual objects. Each piece is first held in the incense and then handed to the lama. Everything is accompanied by the lama's prayer. It is also permissible for other persons, for example, the master of the household, to tie on the attachments. -- The master of the household then places the arrow-urn on the chest in front of the god's image with the usual offering gifts: little water-bowls, wine, grain, butter, milk, bread, etc. Outside in the yard the great incense offering is made, and inside all those present make a three-fold kowtow before the new arrow of good fortune. During the entire veneration, however, the lama remains seated on the kang and prays.

777 At noon a family festival[1] is celebrated with a banquet,
*778 and there is singing and drinking into the night. The lama stays until the following morning.

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Use and significance: The arrow is never used for soothsaying because it cannot become the seat of a spirit, like the spirit-spear, for instance (5). Only once is it taken out of the

[1] [to celebrate the consecration of the arrow of good fortune - ANALYST]

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5. [Foreign text p. 53.] The informant firmly insisted upon this statement, although the consecration, beribboning, mirror, and bells seem to argue that the arrow is a seat of the spirit.

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house, namely, during the wedding. While the bride, amidst the weeping and wailing of the women, is led out to the threshing floor and mounts the riding animal, the father takes the arrow of good fortune and runs back and forth with it behind the bride, calling out the name of his daughter, who is led on the riding animal three times around the threshing floor before she rides off. The father wants to keep back the good fortune.

[52] The arrow holds together the good fortune and well-

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being of the household, as do the god of wealth and the treasure-urn among the Chinese. For that reason something is held back as "seed" and "root" from everything that is sold and attached to the arrow or added to the urn (6). With her marriage, the

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6. [Foreign text pp. 53-55.] One receives differing information among the people concerning the word yãñsdzia. Some say yãñ means "good fortune," whereas the informant subscribes more to the meaning "germ," root, seed, guarantee of good fortune." In the region of Bengbar (Hsi-ch'uan) the arrow is called yãñbō. The ... bō could not be explained by anyone. The people derived the yãñ from the Tibetan and said it meant "good fortune." Undoubtedly it is identical with the Tibetan g.yaḥ. The Chinese word ying-pao mentioned by F. Lessing (Yung Ho Kung, p. 139) is phonetically very reminiscent of the designation yãñbō. The Tujen have a third expression for

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
the arrow of good fortune in the word yãṅdar. They interpret the yãṅ as "good fortune" and the dar as "to increase." The old man, however, would not let the dar be applied to the entire arrow, but only to the hada attached to it, and he is correct in this, for dar in Tibetan signifies "cloth, silk." He stated that the whole thing, including the urn, is always only called yãṅsdzia. It is unclear to me what the sdzia in this combination actually means. It is doubtful that it is a literary botching of mda', "arrow."

In order to determine the meaning of the arrow of good fortune in more detail, it is best to start from the Tib. word g.yaṅ. According to Ch. Das, the sense of wealth, fullness of life, treasures, state of well-being is connected with g.yaṅ. This is apparent from the corresponding combinations with g.yaṅ (cf. pp. 1149ff.). The very essence of good fortune, however, seems to be the sheep; metaphorically it is simply called g.yaṅ-dkar, "the white good-fortune." White is also the color of good fortune. But how, then, is the arrow of good fortune to be comprehended as the carrier of good fortune?

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Its peculiar character becomes clearest at the wedding ceremony. When the bride departs from the parental house and is led three times around the threshing floor on horseback, the father of the bride runs behind the bride three times

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.] with the arrow of good fortune and calls out her name. Meanwhile the attendants sing a song in which they conjure everything that the bride takes with her onto the arrow as a "germ," so that it might stay behind. -- The urn that holds the grain brought by the bride-fetchers is a similar matter. This urn is called g, yaṅ-bum in Tibetan and its meaning corresponds with that given by Ch. Das (p. 1150). It contains treasures: gold, silver, money, ornaments, etc. The arrow of good fortune and the urn of good fortune thus carry the germs and vital power of all the blessings of good fortune of the kin group [Sippe], be they animals, human beings, [54] treasures, or seed. They not only carry them, but also guarantee their preservation and increase. This conception, however, is not only found among the Tujen.

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The shepherd-nomads have a custom similar to that of the Tujen and the agricultural Fandse with their arrow of good fortune. When they sell animals, they tie some of the wool or hair to the tent post or to a string inside the tent. (G. Montell, p. 49, illustration, reports something similar from the Mongols.) This post or string has a special relationship to heaven. Among the agriculturalists the urn appears in accordance with the importance of the agricultural products. Thus, the Chinese likewise have a pao-p'ing, "treasure-vase"; similarly, the Lolo have an ancestral chest in which

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.] they keep the ornaments and mementos of the kin group in order to have a guarantee for the good fortune and wealth of the family; cf. Lin Yüeh-hwa: I chia. Above all, the arrow of good fortune seems to be of great importance among the Bon; cf. H. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], pp. 190, 184, 178. It plays a special role in the wedding customs of the Bon, as H. Francke has described them in the wedding songs. The wedding customs of the Tujen and their songs show a certain relationship with these Bon customs, which in itself is not surprising since up to the most recent times the Bon religion in Amdo had a strong influence. The conception of the tribal animals, mother-animals, mother-treasures, to which all other earthly animals, treasures, etc. go back, however, belongs to the world-view of the Bon; cf. H. Francke; Hochzeitslieder [Wedding Songs], pp. 8 ff. The tribal animals are also celebrated in song by the Tujen in a song-cycle bearing the name xoni, "sheep." This song-cycle actually stems from the Amdo-Fandse, among whom it is called g. yaṅ-dkar, "white good-fortune," or g. yaṅ-dkar lug, "sheep of the white good-fortune." Although various animals are celebrated in song, the sheep stands in the center as the supreme blessing of good fortune.

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If one ties these conceptions together, it may be stated of the yãnsdzia: It bears within it the germs and origins of the gifts of fortune of this world. Living beings are allied more with heaven (are

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
perhaps to be interpreted as astral), and the seeds, together with the other treasures, more with earth. The arrow represents the connection of the two (heavenly post, heavenly rope). This idea also fits in well with the pre-Buddhistic -- shamanistic world-picture with the world mountain and the individual realms. Cf. for instance, the representation in the mountain torma at the ritual of the pole-goat, where all of creation is put in miniature on a mandala. A germinally pre-formed world which maintains the actual, large world through its vital power is always fundamental. -- It would be interesting to pursue these conceptions across Asia; perhaps even the Inao and the "sending off" of the Ainu are connected with them.

The arrow of good fortune and the customs connected with it have passed into Buddhism and are practiced in all lamic monasteries. The arrow is found everywhere. The most important ceremony is the summoning of good fortune (g.yaṅ 'gug). This ceremony is reported in detail in F. Lessing (Yung Ho Kung, pp. 139-147), where further details concerning the Lamaistic use of the [55] arrow can also be found, but this does not belong here. Only one parallel with the popular custom among the Tujen should be mentioned, where Lessing describes the procession with the arrow of good fortune (p. 146): "After this interlude, the procession continues its way and finally returns to Hall II. They have absorbed all they can the elixir

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
or vital forces (rasayana, Tib. bcud len, Mong. sime, shime) of heaven and earth, sun and moon, rivers and lakes, trees and herbs" [cited in English]. This corresponds precisely to the above-mentioned wedding ceremony of the Tujen at the departure of the bride, where likewise "the germs, vital force" are conjured in song onto the arrow with which the father runs behind the bride.

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The Tujen word for this "germ, seed," etc. in the songs is furie; cf. Schröder, Hochzeitslieder" [Wedding Songs]. furie is the Mongolic üre (DMF, p. 111) and in meaning corresponds, like sime, to the Tibetan bcud in bcud len. len signifies "to seize, to grasp, to gather" (Ch. Das, p. 1220), and bcud, "sap, moistness, essence, force," etc. (p. 394). The meaning that my informant gave for the word yän is identical with this; cf. above. With regard to the expression bcud-len, Ch. Das writes (p. 394): "the art of extracting essences for prolonging health and longevity, such essences as being of different kinds . . ." [cited in English]. He also mentions in particular the earth-force: "sa-yi bcud, the essence of the earth, by which the produce of the field, medicinal plants and precious metals and stones, etc., are said by Tibetans to be produced; therefore this essence is the natural fecundity of the soil . . ." [cited in English]. More about this in another place (in the myth about the origin of agriculture).

[585] bride leaves the family, but it is desired that good fortune and wealth should not leave the home with her. For that reason clothing and bits of hair are also preserved on the arrow.

[52 cont.]

Word List

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Arrow: sēmu.
Arrow tip: timurdē.
Arrow feathering: sēmu fodie.
Arrow of good fortune: yãṅsdzia (1) (6) [see Note 6 above].

1. [Foreign text p. 52.] yãṅsdzia: Tib. g.yaṅ = good fortune, mda' = arrow. yãṅdžēw: Tib. g.yaṅ (the same), skyob = to protect. An offering to guarantee good fortune is designated by it. yaṅbo (-po): seems to be connected with the Tib. g.yaṅ-bum = urn of good fortune (Unkrig).

Urn: p'endzē (Chin.).
Urn with grain: yãṅ-dẓēw = to fill with good-fortune seeds (Tib. loanword) (1) [see Note 1 above].
To fill the urn: yãṅdzēwrē ġada = to fill up with seed stuffing.
Attachments: yãṅ rdzē = seed attachments (additions).
Hada: kadaġ (Tib.).
Cloth remnants: sdziedzē dzūldēgān = cloth remnants of all kinds.
Mane hairs: dzãṅgãṅ; tsung-kang (Chin.).
Black hairs: sul.
Ball of hair: fudzē sdzialaġ = downy-hair ball.
Sheep wool: ṅguasē.
Consecrating prayer: yãṅpo dgē (Tib. loanword) = arrow-of-good-fortune prayer (1) [see Note 1 above].
To prepare the arrow: ilieni yãṅsdziarē fuya = to tie everything to the arrow of good fortune.

[Pages 52-55 contain the notes given as numbered footnotes.]

[59 cont.]

*778 [777] [772] Meaning: The mani-tree guarantees good fortune and peace for the household, yard, and people. The air-horse is a symbol of fate. On its back it bears the precious stone of good fortune: nuru. The tree represents the world-mountain. Around its peak circle sun, moon, and stars, and below lies the world with the people, with house and yard and herds (9).

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9. [Foreign text pp. 61-62.] This explanation by the informant indicates that only with the raising of the mani-pole is the compound complete, part of the world order, as is also expressed in other songs. It is based upon the Lamaistic conception of the world, according to which the world-mountain is in the center and everything else is situated around it. Among the lamas one always finds this interpretation, as it is presented symbolically in the monogram found everywhere, the nantśu wãńdãh. To be sure, the Tujen know nothing of the detailed interpretations of this monogram (cf. Note 3), nor of the parallel between this cosmic interpretation and the human body. -- Here it should also be noted that in this symbol the flat disk under the moon sickle is lacking, and furthermore that the colors are different; the small flame on the sun is green, the sun itself white, the moon sickle red; cf. Unkrig in Filchner: Kumbum, pp. 160-161.

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[62] The word sdzi-ńkuor and the informant's translation, "center-round," phonetically and semantically give precisely the Tibetan word dkyil 'k'or; cf. DMF, p. 387, and Ch. Das, p. 56.

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346 *778 [62] [792] The chorten chamber is erected by the entire village. Everyone must give a hand. The lama comes and prays for seven days, makes a series of tormas, and manufactures the urns. On the seventh day the chorten chamber is built. Only little windows are left in it. In front of the chorten chamber the men burn incense and move in a circle around the chamber as at the obo. Through the window holes they then again throw in little chorten.

[621] [777] The chorten chamber protects the village and the family from misfortune. It represses the evil earth-influences. [Fig. 8 appears here.]

Details

[361] [791] Place: The chorten chamber is always erected outside the compound and outside the village. No attention is paid to paths. The place is more precisely designated by the soothsayer, not by the lama.

[72] Form: The groundplan of the chorten chamber is rectangular. Its size varies greatly. There are small chambers as high as a man and large ones with beautiful tile roofs and columned porticoes. There is never a door in the wall. Only at head level are square peepholes left, an ell square. There is no sun-moon disk on the roof, such as is otherwise common on temples. Usually a beautiful incense oven stands before the chamber. -- There are many kinds of chorten chambers. The one here is the most common; it is called "house-chamber," for there are also some that are not roofed (1).

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1. [Foreign text pp. 77-78.] According to the informant, bẽn designates the same thing as the Tibetan 'bum (in many places also pronounced bẽn), that is, 100,000. kãn is the Tibetan word for house, but it can also mean temple, for example, in the word sdienkãn.

[688]

Details

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787 The oracle: On the morning of the anniversary of the birth, the father brings the child into the main house or into the kitchen and sets it on the kang. He places a kang table with three little baked loaves of bread, five steamed loaves of bread, and a cup of tea in front of it. Next to it, for a boy, he puts a span-long bow with a small arrow, brush, paper, and money; for a girl, these are needle, yarn, ell, scissors, knife. The three little baked loaves signify the three Buddhistic world-
[776] spirits (2). The five steamed loaves symbolize the five blessings

2. [Foreign text p. 624.] It could not be ascertained which three names are individually involved. sãṅrẽdzi (Illuminated One) is the title for the Tulkus; cf. section, "The Lama-reception," and Note 6 below.

[777] of good fortune: age, wealth, health, virtue, blessed death (1).
[171]

1. [Foreign text pp. 623.] Chinese and Tibetan conceptions are mixed in the explanation of these loaves, for the Chinese also have this birthday ceremony. The Chinese proverb, wu fu p'eng shou, the five good-fortune-[624] (signs) hold up the age-(sign). A custom at New Year's: The sign shou is written in the center of a red paper, and in a circle around it the five signs for good fortune, fu.

The parents give the child some of the bread to eat and let it drink tea, or the mother suckles it. Then they ask it to grasp at the things on the kang table. If the boy grasps
[778] money, he will be an industrious tradesman; if he seizes bow

192 776 [623 cont.]
The three world-spirits: dier xsēm sa̍nrēdzi (6) (Tib. manner of speaking).

6. [Foreign text p. 625.]
dier xsēm sa̍nrēdzi: xsēm = Tib. gsum = three; sa̍nrēdzi = Tib. sa̍ns -rgyas = widespread splendor = Buddhistic title for incarnation. -- dier cannot be identified; it must be Tibetan, however, and mean the same as "region, world." I would like to connect it with the three worlds of the Bon; cf. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], p. 139; Francke, Hochzeitslieder [Wedding Songs], pp. 5 ff. -- This tripartition is also familiar to the Chinese; one has only to think of the Taoistic san-ching or the Buddhistic san-chieh.

192 777 The five blessings of good fortune: wu-fu (Chin.).

[Pages 623-625 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[625] 527 3. The New Year's Festival*

* See "Notes," pp. 628-629 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[171] [574] The New Year is celebrated by the Tujen at the same time as by the Chinese. In the first days they rest from all work,

[646 cont.]
each and two ells of cloth.

At the next grave festival, which usually falls in the third lunar month, all the relatives gather at the kin-group cemetery for the offering to the dead; at that time the bone-chest is also transferred to it. A number of men go to the old burial spot at the place of cremation, dig up the chest, and bring [647] it to the cemetery without any ceremony. There they dig a small hole and put the chest in it. This is done only by men who are of the same generation as the dead person or of a lower generation. A father, for instance, would never bury his son, nor the uncle his nephew, etc.

As soon as the pit has been filled, the offering for the dead takes place; the relatives burn paper and little sticks of incense, set down loaves of bread, meat, etc., pour out tea, liquor, and soup, and hold a little meal at the grave. Then everyone goes home. -- The transfer of the bones, however, need not be done at the next grave festival; sometimes one waits two or three years. The bones may not be interred, however, outside the period of the grave festival (21).

21. [Foreign text pp. 656-657.] The Tujen word sẽn-miṅ is evidently merely a phonetic imitation of the Chinese ch'ing-ming. The informant said that the Tujen did not know about the grave festival in olden times, but that they have copied it from the Chinese, which indeed is confirmed by the precisely identical rites and the asserted former exposure of the corpse. -- The postponement [657] of a final interment of the bones until this feast, however, remains unexplained, especially since the Chinese usually bury their dead immediately in the cemetery. The informant observed in this connection that the Chinese inter their dead on

[647 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 656-657 cont.] certain lucky days, but the Tujen have no special lucky days for the dead. The day of the ch'ing-ming, however, is always an unfailingly lucky day, and therefore one waits until then. On the other hand, he claimed that the Tujen formerly never had cemeteries, but buried their dead wherever they wished, although not in a common field; after the introduction of cremation this was all the more unnecessary. -- One can scarcely ignore here the probability of an original double interment.

The period of mourning: The actual period of mourning lasts 49 days. Originally the Tujen had no hundred-days [177] memorial; nowadays, however, they often imitate the Chinese in this.

During these 49 days after the storage of the bones, the chief mourner must go to the provisional grave daily at sundown [782] and burn incense there, pour out soup, and kowtow three times. On the forty-ninth day, however, the whole family goes out, makes an offering of tea, bread, and liquor, and burns paper. In former times on this occasion the men burned the hemp hair-string from their queue, and the women the paper parts of their [178] headdress, which they wore as a sign of mourning. Since nowadays the queue and headdress have disappeared, this ceremony has been lost.

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Starting from the day of death to the forty-ninth day after the bone storage, the members of the family of the dead person may not pay any visits, not even to relatives. If they want to speak to someone, they may not enter the yard, but must ask the people to come out before the yard gate. Even more strongly are they forbidden to visit temples, to appear before the gods' images, to make incense offerings, or to undertake other cult activities. -- During this time spiced

765 [647 cont.]
784 foods, white flour, butter, and milk are also prohibited. The
food consists of simple tsamba. All trips must be made on foot;
[262] one may not ride, but one is allowed to take a beast of burden
[585] along. -- The mourners must abstain from marital intercourse;
also, they may not appear at weddings, for that brings misfortune
[783] to the bride. -- A bereaved shaman or soothsayer may not offici-
[796] ate during this time; in general mourning makes one unclear,
and therefore he should not even be present at a religious event.

[783] After the forty-ninth day these prescriptions automatically lapse. Special purification ceremonies are not necessary. One again starts making the incense offering in the yard, shaves, and pursues his daily activities.

769 Veneration of the dead: Aside from the grave festival, at which all gather for the offering at the kin-group cemetery, the Tujen have no veneration of the dead. There are no ancestral tablets.

769 There is no further thought about the soul of a dead per-
775 son; it has started its migration. Most people know almost nothing about any reward or punishment after death. They do fear the dead, especially if [648] someone has died with claims on or debts to the living, for instance, if the dead person had been robbed, if a deed was unexpiated, etc. Then the soul
[777] haunts its old dwelling, brings misfortune and illness to its own
[791] family, indeed, even discord and death. In such cases one questions a soothsayer concerning the cause of the misfortune, and when it is established that a soul of the dead is involved,
[782] it is determined in detail what still must be done for this soul. One goes to the grave, burns paper, and makes an offering to the dead. If that does not help, one invites a lama to pray for several days; the latter makes a special torma, which is carried away so that the misfortune will be banished.

764 Youthful and unnatural deaths: Boys at the age of 15
885 years are reckoned as adults; they receive a cremation like the adults, regardless of whether they are already married or not.
766 From one to 15 years of age, they are exposed on the field,

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[838 cont.]

Seed-supervisor:	tõrõdzi (supreme head); ch'ing-miao t'ou (Chin.) = young-seed-master.
Trumpet:	dõñ; la-pa (Chin.) = Chin. shawm.
Cymbals:	nao (Chin.) = the large beating plates; rëbuoğë (?). ts'a (ch'a)-pao (Chin.) = small sounding plates.
Flags:	ch'i-tzu (Chin.).
Books:	luãn = prayer; ching (Chin.) = prayer.
Book-bearers:	luãn rëgudzin kun = prayer-bearing people.

[Pages 838-839 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[839]

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VI. Customs in case of Misfortune for Man and Animal

1. The Animal-consecration*

* See "Notes," pp. 842-844 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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When the children die, the cattle are stricken, the harvest is battered, or other great misfortunes befall a family, a god is angry. One must appease him. Sometimes the god desires an animal. One learns from the soothsayer which god and which animal are involved (1). He summons the spirit

1. [Foreign text p. 842.] Here, too, the soothsaying can be done through the litter or the spirit-table,

[842 cont.]

Word List

Consecration-band: sdier (Tib. loanword).
hung-tzu (Chin.) = the red.

To tie on the consecration-band: sdier fuya-.

The consecration-animal: sdier.

Sacred horse: sdier mori; sheng ma (Chin.).

Sacred sheep: sdier xoni; sheng yang (Chin.).

Sacred goat: sdier ima; sheng chia-la (Chin.), etc.

[Pages 842-844 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[844]

2. The Demon-escort *

* See "Notes," pp. 846-847 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

The demon-escort consists of leading the harmful spirit out of the house and releasing it in the distance. It is done upon the command of the soothsayer in case of family misfortune.

On a set day one invites a lama to the house. He prays for six days with the usual ceremonies and makes several tormas with the appropriate additions, as on other occasions. The compound is taboo, and the master of the household makes the great incense offering three times a day.

In the evening of the sixth day the lama makes the actual demon-torma, which, with all kinds of provisions for travel, is placed on a table in front of the household altar.

On the seventh day one takes the torma, along with a riding animal carrying the travel provisions, outside the village

[846 cont.]

789 If an evildoer steals the animal or the things, the
776 demon will punish him.
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Word List

192 Demon escort: rĕdzõ̃wa (Tib.?) ġaṅġani = one takes away
789 that which is to be taken away.
[778] The demon-torma: dzuor (Tib.) (1) [see Note 1 above].
Saddlebag: dadzẽ (Chin. loanword).
Contents of the saddlebag: rdze (Tib. loanword) (possibly provisions).

[Pages 846-847 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[847]

000 3. The Figure-litter *

* See "Notes," pp. 849-850 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

751 Report
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789 . . . In order to protect the children from misfortune, one
791 invites in a Bon priest. He brings along a companion, and then
[777] they hold a seven-day prayer service. During this time they
[778] make all kinds of figures out of tsamba.
[782] On the last day they place the figures on a paper litter and take them with two tormas to a river bank or a road crossing. There everything is burned. Through this one prevents the sickness-demon from returning.

1 [i.e. the animal and things used in the demon-escort ceremony - ANALYST.]

[855 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 855 cont.] about himself with sword and lance, hacked the hen to pieces, hacked up a straw man, swung a winnowing shovel and a sieve, danced, and foamed at the mouth.

In this way the demon is conjured away. The shaman goes home and has his supper.

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Word List

755 House-purification: rdzõ̃ŋwa (rëdzõ̃ŋwa).
789 The torch: huo-pa (Chin.).
[416] The stones: taǯē; sa-shih (Chin.).
Oil-basin: ġal-tuġuo; yu-kuo (Chin.).
Fire-arrow: ġal sëmu; huo-chien (Chin.).
Fire-bow: ġal lëmu; huo-kung (Chin.).
The hemp whip: uhuosë yudier; ma-pien-tzu (Chin.).
The hen: taǵū; huo-chi (Chin.), huo: here = to live.
[778] The straw man: šdagu kun; ts'ao-jen (Chin.).

[The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

[856]

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7. The Earth-god Urn *

* See "Notes," pp. 858-860 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

If misfortune prevails in the house, then sometimes the

[856 cont.]

782 soothsayer determines that the earth-god is angry and wants to
[791] have an urn. This urn is buried in the ground on a day indicated
[787] by the soothsayer. All kinds of spices are to be found in the urn,
[777] put there by a lama. This is done after a seven-day prayer in
[792] the family itself. During these days the compound is taboo.

Usually there are several urns, because one does not bother the lama for merely one. After he has filled the urn with spices on the last day, he pours liquid butter over it, ties it up with a cloth, seals the string, and paints a nuru sign on the outside. Then the urn is fumigated and sprinkled with holy water, whereupon the master of the household places it on the chest before the Buddha image.

In front of the urn one places the usual little water-bowls, butter-lamps, grain-bowls, etc. The urn, however, does not stand on the bare floor of the chest, but rather a sheet of paper is first put down as an underlayer, a few cypress leaves and grains of barley are scattered over it, and the urn is put on top.
[792] Now the lama comes down from the kang, sits on the white felt mat in front of the urn, and gives the consecration-prayer (1).

[778] 1. [Foreign text p. 858.] As is always done on other occasions, here, too, a torma is made by the lama, which is carried out into the open. It was unfortunately no longer possible to inquire as to whether this torma is put on the place where the urn is buried, say, as an offering for the earth, which is to be injured, similar to what is done at the house, at the fire-pouring, at the crematory, etc.

791 During this time the spear-soothsayer is fetched. He
787 now gives the precise hour in which the urn is to be buried.
782 The master of the household puts the urn on a tray, and the procession moves out to the area indicated by the soothsayer. The soothsayer follows with the invoked spear-god and then

[857 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 858-859 cont.] comes from the fact that the urn is consecrated with certain conjuration formulas, snags (dha-rani), in other words, represents a magic treasure.

urn is buried by one or more lamas or by the master of the household, the compound is always taboo during this time.

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[858] Place: The place at which the urn is buried must always be chosen in such a way that no person or domestic animal can desecrate it. No one may run across such a place. For this reason roads and public places are avoided, for the place is, after all, not specially marked. Otherwise the urn may be buried anywhere, in the fields or in the pasture, in the yard or in the house. Indeed, one may even set it in yard and room walls and wall it up.

Significance: The contents of the urn are the treasures and yield of the earth, everything that belongs in the realm of the earth-god or of the mountain-spirit. One wants to please these two spirits through these valuables so that they will hold down the evil earth-influences and protect human beings from misfortune. It is as though gifts were being given to persons in office (6).

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6. [Foreign text pp. 859-860.] According to this explanation, an offering to the earth-god is involved. The interpretation, however, might not suffice. One must consider the urn in its wider context. It repeatedly occurs in Tujen usage, with the arrow of good fortune, with the round manger, in the obo, in the chorten chamber, and, to be sure, in twofold form: in the one case as the seat of a deity, which through the formula scroll,

3: Schröder--288 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[860]

8. The Fire-pouring*

*See "Notes," pp. 867-870 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

In the case of family misfortune one sometimes invites in the lama so that he will undertake the fire-pouring. This lasts seven days. On the first day the lama comes with his companions. They make a small torma which one takes out into the open and throws away. After that the taboo for the yard is begun by hanging a cypress twig to the gate. On the second day three large tormas are made, which are placed on the household altar. The lama prays five times a day. On the sixth day, in the afternoon, the immediate preparations for the fire-pouring are made; two or three lamas take care of this, during which at least another one remains seated on the kang and continues praying. One fetches the spear-soothsayer. He determines, with the usual ceremonies of calling upon the spear-god, the place for the burning at the fire-pouring.

After that, the lama once more makes a torma and puts it on the place that the soothsayer has designated. He sits on a mat in front of it and prays the appropriate prayers, while the master of the household undertakes the great incense offering in the yard. Then the torma is taken out in front of the gate and thrown away so that the birds will eat it. The lama now rises from his mat and makes the ground-drawing on the burning-place, and with some bricks or clay bricks the people build a small [861] wall in front of it. The drawing is covered for the night with sacks or boards, so that no one will run across it and thereby pollute it.

On the seventh day, very early, the lama holds his prayer service. After breakfast the people prepare everything

[866 cont.]

782 [792] The place for the black fire-pouring is usually a remote ravine. One pitches black tents and lives there several days with the lama in solitude. In no case may one undertake the black fire-pouring in the vicinity of temples or human habitations.

[731] [755] [777] [776] In case of epidemics, the black fire-pouring is used preferably, in order to annoy the demons of sickness and thus to drive them away, for with them the misfortune, too, disappears.

[792] [755] Meaning: The fire-pouring is an offering for the gods; through it they are supposed to be induced to turn away misfortune and sickness (7). The seven-day prayer of the lama is

782 372 [776]

7. [Foreign text pp. 868-869.] The whole gives very much the impression of a fire-offering. The informant, however, thought that it had nothing to do with it. According to him it was an offering to the appropriate Buddhas. The fire-god was also venerated with it, as the torma proved, but this was not the main thing. Nevertheless there is no doubt but that a fire-offering, Homa, is involved (cf. Lessing, loc. cit.). The Tujen name alone cannot be interpreted other than as a corruption of the Tibetan sbyin-sreg. sbyin is pronounced jin, which is very clearly to be seen in Note 8 (źūin-tsëġ). Ch. Das, p. 940, writes under sbyin-sreg: "burnt offerings as made by Tantrik Buddhists, ... sbyin-sreg-gi [869] rdsas clarified butter, articles necessary for burnt sacrifices. ... sbyin-sreg-gi yam-šiṅ ... first wood necessary for the offering" [cited in English]. (For yam-šiṅ, cf. the Tujen foreign word yiew-siṅ.) "Homa is the

[204 cont.]
776 of the Bon, the Dăntsien-Sang, who hammers his iron on the buck's head so that there is lightning and thunder (cf. "The Pole-goat," Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 823 ff.) [pp. 218 ff. above in the HRAF translation].

The remaining Lamaistic gods do not have the importance among the people that might be expected. They know of [796] Maitreya, whose image is displayed and venerated on the sixth [535] day in the sixth month after the temple dances in the yard of Êrh-ku-lung; furthermore, Tsongkhapa, the founder of the Yellow Church, in Chinese called pao-pei-fo-yeh, Precious-Stone Buddha, [791] and the soothsaying god Pekar, whom the people simply call [788] sgurdien (gurtum), and who often is set up life-sized with full [756] warrior equipment in the temple on pilgrimage days. This Lamaistic oracle-god, however, is venerated less by the people than by the true shamans. -- No identification of Buddha with the highest being (heaven) is to be observed among the people. Nothing higher than heaven is known. Cf. below (pp. 348 ff.).

c) The Demons

Aside from the countless spirits, the uluon purgan, the world is further populated by countless demons, the so-called [753] ilie. They harm human beings through disease, misfortune, [777] failure of crops, and bad weather. Especially feared is [205] the [731] plague-god Barma, Chinese wen-shen, epidemic-god, at whom [782] the black fire-pouring is directed. The storm demons are combated by the spirits of the weather ministry. They fear above all the red-hot projectiles that rain down to earth from the anvil of the Dăntsien-Sang and kill them.

The Lamaistic terror-gods, among whom the mother of the gods, Lha-mo, is best known to the people, are not regarded as demons. Their main task is not to torment human beings, but to protect the true Lamaistic doctrine from its enemies.

774 2. The soul- and world-picture

a) Conception of the Soul

[231 cont.]
776 heaven that is based upon this knowledge. This is made even
577 clearer by the fact that one ascribes punitive power to heaven.
626 A much-used expression is: "tieńgĕre dardzia, heaven has
[192] punished (sc. him), that is, sent misfortune"; dari- means literally "to tame"; it is used predominantly for the taming of unruly horses. Similarly it is also said when one humbles a proud person: "tolġue dari- (to force the head down)." (Cf. DMF 45.)
[777] The people popularly explain the blows of misfortune that strike a person as a humbling and punishment by heaven.

776 [232] Above all heaven shows itself as a binding force
585 at the conclusion of a marriage. According to L. Schram
626 (Mariage, pp. 71 and 174), the actual act of concluding a marriage is the kowtow that the bridal people perform in the yard before heaven and the countless burchan. Heaven stands in first place. The significance of the act is shown by this solemnity,
[171] which crowns the other ceremonies. Precisely as among the Chinese, this rite before heaven (among the Chinese without burchan) has the force of law, and the marriage is regarded as concluded. That an ancient conception lies at the bottom of
[533] this is shown in the song delivered, "The Bird Pair," which is sung at every wedding. In it is described how shepherd and shepherdess at the incense offering regard themselves as a pair. (Cf. above, p. 343, where the incense offering is discussed.) Then, however, it is stated with unmistakable unequivocalness: "We venerate the great heaven and are a pair for life (šge tieńgĕrni amudadzi, nigë nisëni dzawa dañlieya)." Likewise
[588] the marriage with the mani-tree in the absence of a husband is regarded as having the force of law before heaven; cf. Schram, op. cit., p. 127. The children born of the woman are called in Chinese t'ien sheng tzu (heaven's children). Before this marriage the girl is given the woman's hairdo; this is called
[302] in Chinese pao t'ien-t'ou (to apply the heavenly hairdo). --
[831] The opposite also appears; a girl promises her virginity to heaven and as a sign of it lets her hair hang down: arin fsdzūn tieńgĕrde fdzë bōlgadzia (the pure girl lets her hair hang down for heaven). -- For the rest, the ancient Mongolic conception of the election of the Mongols by God and their task of rulership might still be exerting an effect among the Tujen.

[233 cont.]

Even less can be determined of any creative activity of heaven with respect to the individual human being. To be sure, a current Tujen saying runs: suniędzĕne tieńgĕre xuradzia, heaven has taken the soul (DMF 361), but this expresses only the rulership of heaven over life and death. There is no mention of a creation of the soul. The Chinese also know a similar phrase: t'ien shou-la t'a-ti ling-hun.

Heaven and fate. -- A question suggested in connection with the ancient Mongolic meaning of fate or good fortune, which has had its greatest elaboration in the sülde cult, is whether something similar is to be found among the Tujen, say, that there might be a fate standing over heaven. -- The Tujen know three expressions for "fate": dzieyan, šdiemdžĕl, kimori.

dzieyan is used predominantly in the sense of favorable conditions of life, for instance, when one says: "The girl has experienced a favorable fate," meaning that she has married into a good, wealthy family. The Tujen word corresponds to the Mongolic jayagan, but does not have the latter's essential content. The significance seems, rather, to have been transferred from the original jayagan to the Tujen expression šdiemdzĕl.

šdiemdzĕl, peculiarly enough, is now found not so much in everyday language as in song. Thus the Tujen songs popularly end with the verse: moŋgol kuni lõnšda (or kimori) darlagu, šdiemdžĕlgĕ rĕdziglaya, in order to erect the air-horse of the Mongols, let (us) lay (= build) a good-fortune foundation. This conception is linked with the image of the central fort. The air-horse is grounded in the central fort. Accordingly the šdiemdžĕl would correspond to the basis for fate, which is symbolized in the air-horse. Evidently, ancient conceptions are mixed here with more recent Buddhistic ones, whereby in connection with the Hayagriva figure, fate and horse are brought together. Linguistically the word šdiemdžĕl cannot be understood unequivocally. The second syllable ... dzĕl, however,

[233 cont.]

777 776 192 171 is undoubtedly to be equated with the Mongolic dsol (dzol). According to Koval. (2386), it means: good fortune, salvation. Koval. gives the Tibetan equivalent stes for it. When one notes that the Tujen always insert an i before an e in Tibetan loanwords, then the first syllable šdie(m) might be this Tibetan stes, whose final s is silent. The m would then be inserted in assimilation to the following dental. As regards its meaning, the Tujen translate šdiemdžël [234] with the Chinese yün-ch'i or t'ien-ming. They also, however, render kimori in the same way. It is thereby stated that fate is under the power of heaven, which Uno Harva also stresses for the Altaians and Mongols (Vorstellungen, pp. 144-145). In other words these Altaic-Mongolic conceptions can easily be linked with the kimori and šdiemdžël of the Tujen. According to Uno Harva, in the case of the guarantors of good fortune, the tutelary spirit of man, called zajači, is involved in the form of a double: "If a person is wealthy in his lifetime, zajači is also well-dressed, rides on a horse, and is gay" ... When the person dies, zajači disappears into heaven where he lives in the company of the gods" (op. cit., pp. 276 f.). The Lamaistic air-horse of the Tujen likewise bears on its back the guarantor of good fortune, the wishing jewel, by virtue of which the human being obtains all that seems desirable to him, in other words, good fortune. It has almost the effect of an amulet. Now, according to Uno Harva, when the tutelary lord of good fortune seems to be oriented more toward the individual person, then in the case of the sülde of the Mongols he is acting for the entire people, and, to be sure, through the khan; meanwhile, the historical development among the Chinggisiden made nine Tengri of good fortune out of it. Father W. Schmidt, in conjunction with Banzarov, characterizes the sülde in the following manner (UdG., X, p. 78): "Heaven guides the world like the khan and possesses its sülde ... The sülde of the khan is a reflection of the sülde of heaven ... The nine sülde-tengri, according to their character, are always there in order to protect. They are represented in warlike pose as though they were awaiting battle with someone, in the manner of riders ..." etc. Here, too, it is the riding

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[234 cont.]
777 god of good fortune. It seems that further reminders of these
776 times still echo in the Tujen songs: of the fate of the Mongols,
171 which is based on good fortune; or of the sülde of the khan, which invisibly protects his subjects (UdG., loc. cit.). -- Whatever the connections may be, neither according to Uno Harva nor according to Banzarov-Schmidt nor in the conception of the Tujen themselves is there a fate or good fortune that is independent of the rule of heaven.

772 Summary. -- Everything that has been said about heaven
776 proves it to be an independent deity existing for itself, sharply separated from all other gods, ruling them and dominating the entire world. Its name is "heaven," not in the physical but in the personal sense. Everything pantheistic and animistic and every mana concept remains far removed from it. To be sure, it is not one god [monotheism] in the strict sense, but an authentic supreme god, a towering unique phenomenon among all the other deities. Because of this uniqueness the statement of A. Tafel about the Tujen can now be repeated in its correct interpretation: "Many say they have only one single god in which they believe."

[235] 2. Shamanism

121 Whereas the discussion of the belief in a supreme god
756 could be confined to the region of the Tujen themselves and the corresponding sources, this is not possible for shamanism, for which reason a detailed presentation would not be suitable for this work. It is reserved for a special study. Here the ground-plan can only be drawn in a sketchy fashion, merely representing a theory, because the detailed proofs must be omitted here. The question runs: Of what type is Tujen shamanism and where is it to be classified from the religio-historical standpoint? -- Three types are found among the Tujen: bō-shamanism (drum-shamans), gurtum-shamanism (warrior-shamans), and idol-shamanism (with the spear-soothsayer).

anxious moments of the terrible events caused by evil spirits, which the good spirits could not master.

Every day, in the early morning, they climb with their grandfather to the top of the roof, or go into the courtyard before the *manikan*[1] to honor "Heaven and all the spirits," doing the Wei-sang,[2] and looking at the old man who prostrates himself devoutly, they invoke with him "Heaven and all the spirits" and recite Om Mani, in order to get blessings and protection against the alarming evil spirits. When somebody is smitten with a severe disease, they repeat after grandfather, "Heaven and all the spirits" save our mother, save our father, Om Mani, Om Mani. The children know that at home, the altar and the manikan are the most respected items; they know that spirits preside at the gate of the courtyard, at the well, at the stables, and that they protect the cattle. They know at what time and how they are to be honored, and what is to be done to avoid their wrath. The children live at home in an atmosphere of religion and fear, and when they grow up they are convinced that honoring the good spirits is a requisite for the reaping of good crops, the breeding of healthy cattle, the enjoying of the daily bread, and the protection from evil spirits on the prowl to hurt them.

A logical consequence of such a frame of mind is that Monguors never perform any important act with-

[1] In the middle of the courtyard is built a circular manger in which is planted a tall post. On top of the post are often the Lamaist designs of sun and moon and a circle; a flag is attached to the post printed with Tibetan texts and the "Wind Horse" (Chinese, *Lu-ma;* Tibetan, *rlung-rta*) carrying the jewel symbol (*Norbu*). It is called *manikan,* that is, "the mani post," because the popular "Om Mani" is printed on it.

[2] *Wei-sang* (fdzan garga): *Wei* is a Chinese word meaning "kindle"; *sang* is the Tibetan word *Bsans* meaning "cypress incense." It is the rite performed before sunrise, daily during the first and fourth moon, or only on the first, eighth, or fifteenth of the month, by the heads of Monguor families for "Heaven and all the spirits"; it is also enacted simultaneously with most of the important rites. Some straw is spread in a small oven, a few pinches of pounded cones and leaves of cypress are strewn upon it, and a few pinches of flour, of roasted wheat or spelt, and a few drops of pure water are sprinkled; then all is lit and the odoriferous cypress smoke billows up. It is an "odoriferous offering," not a purifying rite. To these three essential components some devout people like to add a pinch of the six usual pounded spices, dried flowers, red or white sugar, threads of five colors, a little butter or fat; some use wine instead of water, and blow the horn and prostrate themselves three times. Prayers are not said at that time. In performing the "big wei-sang" entire branches of cypress are burned. Lamas are fond of the rite, and even during shamanist rites it is observed. The oven wherein the rite is performed is constructed before the manikan or on the roof of the living room; sometimes it is performed on the edge of the manger. In time of epidemics, etc., the whole family never fails to enact the rite as a group. See also Schröder, Zur Religion der Tujen des Sininggebietes (Kukunor), *Anthropos* 47 (1): 43, 1952; 48: 222, 1953. The famous "Wind Horse" is said by some to bring wealth to the family. Others explain that the horses are offered to the roaming souls in the air (which everybody fears) in order that they might pass unmolested; also Eliade, *op. cit.,* 239–245; also W. Schmidt, *Ursprung* 6: 67.

out having carefully inquired whether it is propitious and whether it is a lucky day for such an action. They invite a lama of the Red or Yellow Sect, a Chinese Taoist priest, a shaman or Kurtain, to consult about the problem. Such information is required for the starting of agricultural activities, the building or repair of houses, the northern side of which would perhaps not be allowed to be repaired this year, and the southern side only next year, in order not to offend the spirits. These consultations have to be held for marriages, funerals, the starting of a journey, gelding of animals, vaccination against smallpox, even for the perforation of the ear lobes of a girl for wearing earrings.

A Monguor never starts a long journey without having attached to his pigtail some copper coins of the Yüan dynasty to prevent the breaking of arms or legs in the event the horse should fall.[3] The girth of his saddle and the halter have to be made with white hair of cows or with wool; the girdle of the rider, however, requires black hair, to conform with the demands of the spirit of horses. The horseman never ties his horse to the door of a house, for the spirit of the door will hurt him. After finishing his devotion, in passing by an Obo, the horseman is not allowed to linger on top of the pass lest the spirit of the Obo punish him. If a horseman encounters some fresh water running down the road, or if he meets a woman carrying a bucket of water, these are good omens pointing to the favorable disposition of the spirits toward him.

While walking with the intendant at the lamasery of Seerkok, we met two donkeys carrying water. Immediately I received the congratulations of the intendant for the propitiousness of the spirits toward me, and he recounted the fact to the dignitaries of the monastery. However, when a woman carrying an empty basket sees a rider, she flees at full speed, in order to prevent mischief for the horseman. It is a bad sign to see a snake or hare crossing the road, and the traveler avoids encountering a nuptial procession. In carrying the clothes of a deceased at the monastery, the collar and sleeves of the clothes are put on the saddle in such a way as to hang on the left side; the collar and sleeves of clothes of a living man are hung on the right side lest the rider should die soon. Never say to a horseman that he is riding a poor animal, but congratulate him on his strong horse, for otherwise it is unlucky.

Never walk on a sheet of paper, or put your hat on a book, for Buddha will punish you. Never talk about possible calamities or they will certainly harm you. When a new gate is built to a courtyard, a rich man who has plenty of children and particularly boys, has to be invited to pass through the new gate first, in order

[3] The Ordos Mongol horse breakers never omit attaching to the whip a coin called *Wu chou* in order to prevent dangerous falls. The coin is called the "stirrup coin" because the old character for *Wu* (five) represents two stirrups, the upper parts of which are adjustable. (Communication of Father A. Mostaert.)

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

that the family may become rich and be blessed with children. If a beggar happens to go through first, the gate has to be rebuilt. A guest never enters directly the home of a friend, lest he might harm the family. Never prepare a hare or chicken for dinner for a guest, because it would harm him. When two friends, having a long talk at night, see the black top of the lamp wick showing the shape of a flower, they congratulate each other, smiling, for the spirit promises to both a happy event in the family. If a crow caws on the roof, it has to be driven away immediately lest a member of the family die or get sick. A member of the family will certainly die soon if a parson crow (hooded crow) enters the door; a calamity is imminent if a magpie cries in the evening, even if, at night, foxes howl, horses neigh, and dogs bark. If a hen crows trouble will surely start in the family, the harvest will be bad, and maybe the Moslems will rebel.

A bride on her wedding day is not allowed to be put on the horse by a "half man," a widower or bachelor; her makeup is not to be done by a "half woman," a widow or a girl, for fear of becoming soon a "half woman." A person dreaming at night about unlucky events, spits for a long time in order that ominous events will not befall him. Never give things to children which are entire, for example, hold over a bit of the frosting of a cookie. The same rule is observed when something is given to a beggar, for fear the guardian spirit of your wealth, should wreak vengeance and the family be impoverished. When drinking tea or wine, or eating food, always throw a bit of it over your shoulder, or sprinkle a few drops, thereby feeding the hungry souls roaming all over the world, in order not to be harmed by them. Never urinate in a river, or facing the sun or the moon, or at night in front of the manikan. At night never appear completely naked before the manikan, or you will surely be harmed. All the taboos after childbirth and funerals are scrupulously observed.

These few facts give an insight into the mentality of fear prevailing among the Monguors concerning the whole army of malignant spirits which surround them. No wonder that the whole day long they cast horoscopes in order to avoid all possible harm. These few facts will help to understand the world of religion and fear in which the Monguors live and practice their religion.[4]

[4] The very valuable study of F. Johan Frick and F. Franz Eichinger, Tiere in Volksleben. Museum of Oriental Ethnology, *Folklore Studies*, Supplement No. 1. Ethnographische Beitrage aus der Ch'inghai Provinz (China), 125 sq., Charles E. Tuttle Co., Rutland, Vermont, U. S. A. (1925), concerning the region of Huan-Yüan, west of Hsining, inhabited by Tibetans and Chinese, neighbors of the Monguors, provides interesting and minute details related to this special field. Because Tibetans and Chinese are enrolled in the Monguor clans, many of those beliefs and practices are necessarily encountered among the Monguors. The study helps to shed light on the frame of mind and the world of fear in which the Monguors live. Similarly,

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old Living Buddha of Erh-ku-lung. Each claimed to be the proprietor of a small mountain. The Living Buddha lost his suit and the limping Tjaar tseen became the most celebrated man in the country. The Buddha invited three black shamans to bewitch the limping Tjaar tseen, and accused him again. He lost the second lawsuit also. Raging, the Buddha invited three black shamans to cast more efficacious spells. The chief of the village did not care any more, and the villagers graze their herds on the mountain to the present day. This fact is interesting for us because a Living Buddha, on two occasions, invited black shamans.

Hu, a rich Monguor, compelled a poor Monguor to sell to him his beautiful and willing young wife. The poor Monguor, using his last resource, invited a black shaman to bewitch his wife. The black shaman prepared skulls of a dog and of a fox, and a horn of a black goat. Inside each he enclosed three slips of paper on which he had designed cabalistic signs with dog blood around the name of the wife. The three items were buried at night under the entrance door of the courtyard of Hu, with the mouth of the skulls facing his living room. The young wife became sick. Shamans were invited to discover the cause of the illness and to neutralize the evil influences, but to no avail. The wife died and the shaman, it was said, was powerless against a punishment of Heaven and the spirits. But there was no peace in the courtyard; at night, noises disturbed the rest. Black shamans were invited for three days and they found the skulls. The poor man was accused before the T'u-ssu, but the T'u-ssu did not pay any attention because the behavior of the rich Monguor was supposed to have been unjust. It is the usual trick of the black shamans to bury magical things under the lintels of doors or in cemeteries.

In countries where there are no newspapers, such tales are spread like prairie fires, by peddlers, and commented on and believed, especially when outstanding persons are involved. They create the trend of mind of the people and make them fear so much the black shamans living south of the Hsining River, who are said to use beads made from human bones, to blow a trumpet made from the bone of a young woman who committed suicide, to wear a girdle made from the skin of such a woman, to braid into the enormous pigtail, coiled around the head, the hair of such a woman, and to use drums made from skulls of young girls. The most terrifying tales are told about them and they are believed by the people.

RITES CONCERNING THE GUARDIAN SPIRITS OF THE WEALTH OF THE FAMILY

According to the Monguors, persons who commit injustices are pursued by the guardian spirit of the wealth of the victim of the injustice, who causes them

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

to suffer from all kinds of mischief and misfortune.[11] Persons guilty of injustices have the problem of finding a means of appeasing that spirit and of remaining in possession of the stolen wealth by faking restitution. Lamas of both sects are conversant with the practice. Lamas of the Yellow Sect perform the rite for those of the Red Sect, and *vice versa;* but never for a lama of the same sect.

Five lamas enact the rite, which lasts for seven days. The first day, helped by a carpenter, they build a rudimentary sedan chair with thin lathes, and paste on it plenty of colored paper. Four flags are set up, one on each of the four corners. In the sedan chair are deposited five small paper bags, each containing a handful of five kinds of grain, five kinds of thread of the five sacred colors, some packets of wool, some rolls, white and red sugar, raisins, dried apricots, some meat and some new garments of the very cheapest kind. The sedan chair is placed in the center of the living room. In front of it, in the courtyard, an enormous bull head made of paper and having two terrifying horns painted red is put in a large caldron. A lamp is lit before the caldron. A piece of black cloth about two feet wide is stretched in a square around the caldron and sedan chair and is supposed to represent the wall of a city. An opening is left where the cloth meets and is called the city gate. Outside the city walls are planted painted spears and swords, one next to the other. In front of the city gate a stake is planted on which cabalistic designs are written with red ink. The stake is supposed to be the seat of the spirit who is the avenger of injustices.

The lamas, twice every day, sit in front of the stake, ringing bells, rattling drums, manipulating the ritual daggers, and reciting texts. Absorbed in meditation, they stare for a long time at the stake. Finally, they start imploring the spirit not to release its avenging bolts, inviting it to take a look at the magnificent sedan chair upholstered with satin and brocade and adorned

[11] The notion of a guardian spirit of the family wealth among the Mongols seems to be general and old. "This housegod was commonly called, 'the very old grandmother.'" Kovalevski, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français*, 215*b*, Kazan, 1844, gives a description of this deity which accords well with that of Yüan times: "gardien de la maison, de la famille et tous les biens. Chez les shamans on le fait des peaux de moutons et de différents torchons de toile." See also Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *op. cit.*, 511. According to Hoffman, *op. cit.*, 174, the fear of a spirit avenging injustices caused to families is familiar to the Tibetans too. The old Bön religion in Tibet honored a protector-spirit of the wealth of the individual, called *Nor-Lha*. Uno Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der Altaischen Völker*, 276, 1938. Many Turkish tribes believe each man has a special protector spirit, from the time of his birth, who protects him and his cattle. In the tents is encountered an image of this spirit and daily an offering is made for it. J. F. Rock, The Na-khi naga cult and related ceremonies, *Serie Orientale*, Roma, IV, Part I, 1952, The Naga spirits guard grains and riches. There are Naga spirits of cultivated fields, of villages, of the ground upon which houses are built, etc.

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/The Monguors/

on the luckless family.

The Mongours will never sell animals, or allow them to leave their homes, on the first or fifteenth of the moon, lest luck and prosperity also leave the family.

Although women do all the heavy work, they are not allowed to kill animals. Women are meant to produce life, not destroy it. When a man reaches approximately fifty years of age, it is no longer fitting for him to kill animals. As his own time of death is approaching, he must guard against reincarnation as an animal.

Women stress neatness and cleanliness. They always wash their hands before preparing food or starting any task, and the elders in the home often remind the daughters-in-law of the importance of cleanliness. If they are not clean, the God of the Hearth will punish them and deprive them and their children of blessings.

5. Occupations

The historical shift of the Mongours from pastoralism to farming does not concern us here. Generally speaking, after the Mongours were alloted a fixed territory at the border of Kansu, during the fourteenth century, they were compelled to resort to farming. During a long period of Mongol and Tibetan disturbance on the frontier, it was difficult for the Mongours to keep large herds in the relatively small valleys, so they became more and more dependent upon the farms adjacent to their fortified villages. They sell grain to the city of Lanchou, but they own much more livestock than the Chinese farmers. Their transformation to the agricultural economy is complete, however, and the Mongours have no desire to return to nomadic life.

The Mongours learned from the Chinese farmers, but their techniques are inferior. Both men and women work in the fields. They raise barley, wheat, rapeseed, hemp, potatoes, colza and peas. Very little millet is grown. The women also grow garlic, leeks, onions, cabbage, spinach, watermelons and cantaloupes in small gardens close to their courtyards. These products are for sale; the farmers themselves can seldom afford to eat fresh fruits and vegetables.

Some Mongours depend mainly upon their livestock. They raise sheep, cows, horses, mules, donkeys and pigs. They keep as many cows and sheep as their pastures will support. Horses are the most valuable animals because they enhance the prestige of their owners. Wealthy families keep handsome, fast horses and fine saddles and trappings. They also hire shepherds to take care of their livestock. In poor families, the women tend the livestock, both in their stalls and pens and in the pastures during the summer rainy season.

Shepherds are the highest paid workers in Mongour society